

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----162118Z 067342 /63

O 161845Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5506  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE  
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 NICOSIA 0736

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: PFOR, PINR, CY, US  
SUBJECT: PREPARATIONS FOR VIENNA/CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

REF: (A) STATE 059171, (B) NICOSIA 0720, (C) STATE 057050  
(NOTAL), (D) STATE 056127 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: CONFRONTED WITH VIGOROUS US REINVOLVEMENT BASED ON DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS, MAKARIOS HAS PULLED THE OBSTREPEROUS GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR PAPADOPOULOS BACK TO THE ARCHBISHOP'S COMMITMENT ON TERRITORY. AT THE SAME TIME, ON ANKARA'S INSTRUCTION, DENKTASH HAS MODIFIED HIS POSITION AND GIVEN DE CUELLAR A HELPFUL COMMITMENT THAT IN VIENNA THE TURKISH SIDE WILL NEGOTIATE "SUBSTANTIVELY AND MEANINGFULLY" ON TERRITORY AS WELL AS THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES OF INTEREST TO TURKS. THUS (OUR FINGERS ARE CROSSED), THE PATH TO VIENNA NOW SEEMS AT LAST TO BE ALMOST CLEAR, ALTHOUGH SOME PROCEDURAL ASPECTS REMAIN TO BE CLARIFIED. THERE IS ALSO VIRTUAL AGREEMENT TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATION IN NICOSIA BEGINNING APRIL 20 AFTER AN EASTER BREAK. IN THE WINGS, HOWEVER, THERE HAS NOW BEEN INTRODUCED A POTENTIALLY TROUBLESOME, UNILATERAL GREEK CYPRIOT STATEMENT OF REQUIREMENTS  
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TO SUSTAIN NEGOTIATION. END SUMMARY.

1. LITTLE NICOSIA WAS THE SCENE OF INTENSE DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY MARCH 16, RELATING TO VIENNA/CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 31. FOLLOWING CHRONOLOGICAL REPORT SEEMS THE CLEAREST WAY OF REPORTING THIS.

2. AT 8:30 A.M. I SAW MAKARIOS. I GAVE HIM PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER ON ALLEGATIONS OF CIA PAYMENTS (REF C) WITH TALKING POINTS (REF D). MAKARIOS APPEARED SATISFIED ON THIS SCORE. I THEN TURNED TO OUR CONCERN THAT GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR PAPADOPOULOS' RECENT INSISTANCE ON CONDITIONING PRESENTATION OF A MAP ON FIRM PRIOR ASSURANCE THAT THE TURKISH SIDE WOULD PRESENT ONE ALSO. I POINTED OUT THAT THIS POSITION DID NOT ACCORD WITH PRIVATE COMMITMENTS TO CLIFFORD. I SUPPORTED THIS BY DRAWING ON DEPT'S INSTRUCTION (REF A). MAKARIOS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT WE MIGHT CONCLUDE HE HAD DEFAULTED ON HIS UNDERTAKING. HE SAID, "MR. PAPADOPOULOS DID NOT REFLECT MY VIEW."

MAKARIOS THEN CALLED FOR AND SHOWED ME AN "AIDE MEMOIRE" WHICH HE SAID HAD BEEN DRAFTED BY PAPADOPOULOS AND AMENDED BY HIM (THE ARCHBISHOP) TO REPRESENT THE GOC'S FORMAL POSITION ON REQUIREMENTS IN NEGOTIATION. HE TOLD ME HE WOULD BE GIVING THIS TO DE CUELLAR AT NOON AND ASKED ME FOR MY PERSONAL VIEWS ON IT. I COMMENTED THAT ON FIRST READING IT SEEMED RESTRICTIVE AND AT SOME POINTS UNHELPFULLY NEGATIVE IN TONE. MAKARIOS REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT FEEL THERE SHOULD BE REASON FOR CONCERN. THE GOC'S REQUIREMENTS AS STATED WERE MEANT TO APPLY TO THE ONGOING NEGOTIATING PROCESS AS A WHOLE. THE GOC WAS NOT SEEKING FULL SATISFACTION ON ALL POINTS AT VIENNA ITSELF. FOR INSTANCE, WHILE THE AIDE MEMOIRE CALLED FOR A CONCRETE TURKISH PROPOSAL ON TERRITORY, THIS COULD COME AT SOME TIME AFTER VIENNA AND AFTER THE TURKS HAD HAD FULL OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY THE GREEK TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL.

MAKARIOS SAID PAPADOPOULOS WOULD BE WITH HIM AT THE NOON MEETING WITH DE CUELLAR, IMPLYING THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR

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WOULD BE KEPT TO HEEL. THE ARCHBISHOP DISCUSSED THOSE WHO WERE BEING HELPFUL IN THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AND THOSE WHO WERE NOT. THE FORMER WERE AKEL (COMMUNIST PARTY) AND CLERIDES. THE LATTER WERE LYSSARIDES (LEADER OF SUPPOSEDLY SOCIALIST EDEK PARTY), "WHO HAS HIS OWN VIEW", AND KYPRIANOU. MAKARIOS REMARKED WITH A TONE OF CAUSTIC CONTEMPT THAT KYPRIANOU STILL INSISTS ON A MULTI-REGIONAL APPROACH. (THIS BEARS OUT REPORTS OF GROWING IRRITATION ON THE ARCHBISHOP'S PART WITH KYPRIANOU'S HARDLINE PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND PRIVATE TACTICAL ALLIANCE WITH LYSSARIDES.)

ARCHBISHOP SAID HE WOULD SEND ME THE TEXT OF THE "AIDE MEMOIRE" RIGHT AFTER HIS MEETING WITH DE CUELLAR. HE CONCLUDED BY REITERATING HIS INTENTION TO STICK BY HIS UNDERSTANDINGS WITH CLIFFORD. (TEXT OF GOC DOCUMENT AND EMBASSY ANALYSIS BEING TRANSMITTED BY SEPTTEL.)

3. AT 9:00 A.M. DE CUELLAR/GORGE VISITED DENKTASH.

4. AT 10:30 A.M. I SAW DE CUELLAR/GORGE TO TELL THEM THAT MAKARIOS HAD ASSURED ME HE DID NOT SUPPORT WHAT PAPADOPOULOS (OR PAPADOPOULOS AND HE) HAD BEEN TRYING ON, AND ESSENTIAL UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED WITH CLIFFORD APPEARED TO BE INTACT. I REMINDED DE CUELLAR THAT THESE UNDERSTANDINGS IN NO WAY RELATED TO INSTRUCTIONS TO NEGOTIATORS DEVELOPED AT FEB 12 MEETING WITH WALDHEIM. DE CUELLAR SAID HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD THIS.

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I CAUTIONED DE CUELLAR TO EXPECT THE "AIDE MEMOIRE" WHICH MAKARIOS HAD SHOWN ME. BASED ON MY DESCRIPTION, DE CUELLAR WAS QUITE CONCERNED ABOUT THIS. HE FEARED THAT IF IT WAS MAKARIOS' INTENTION THAT HE SERVE AS A MAILMAN TO CARRY THE "AIDE MEMOIRE" TO DENKTASH, WE WOULD BE OFF ON ANOTHER UNPRODUCTIVE ROUND OF CONTENTIOUS PRE-VIENNA EXCHANGES. THIS WOULD BE EVEN MORE UNFORTUNATE IN THAT AS A RESULT OF CAREFUL PRIOR CONDITIONING WITH TURKISH AMBASSADOR ONHON, AND UNDOUBTEDLY ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM ANKARA, DENKTASH HAD BY MORNING MARCH 16 BEEN BROUGHT AROUND TO QUITE A POSITIVE POSITION ON WHAT THE TURKISH SIDE IS WILLING TO COMMIT ITSELF TO DO IN VIENNA BY WAY OF RESPONSE TO THE GREEK TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL. DE CUELLAR SHOWED ME NOTES HE HAD TAKEN ESSENTIALLY AS DICTATED BY DENKTASH AT THEIR MEETING EARLIER IN THE MORNING, AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE DENKTASH ASSERTED THAT HIS SIDE WAS WORKING VERY HARD IN

PREPAREING ITSELF AS WELL AS POSSIBLE FOR THE VIENNA TALKS;  
THAT THIS PREPARATION COVERED ALSO TERRITORIAL ASPECTS; THAT  
WHILE IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD  
INITIATE DISCUSSION ON THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE AND MAKE SPECIFIC  
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PROPOSALS, INCLUDING MAPS, HIS SIDE WOULD CERTAINLY NEGOTIATE  
SUBSTANTIVELY AND MEANINGFULLY ON SUCH PROPOSALS AND NOT  
RESTRICT ITSELF TO MAKING COMMENTS; AND THAT SUCH SUBSTANTIVE  
NEGOTIATIONS MAY LEAD TO THEM MAKING COUNTER-PROPOSALS (IN  
THE COURSE OF THE CONVERSATION HE DID NOT SPECIFICALLY  
EXCLUDE SUBMISSION OF MAP BY TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE). END QUOTE.

CONCLUDING JUST BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR NOON MEETING  
WITH MAKARIOS, DE CUELLAR SAID HE WOULD TRY TO PERSUADE MAKARIOS  
TO CONSIDER HIS "AIDE MEMOIRE" AS FOR THE INFORMATION OF SYG'S  
BACKGROUND ONLY AND NOT AS A DOCUMENT FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION  
WITH DENKTASH. IT WAS AGREED THAT GORGE WOULD BRIEF DILLERY  
AT 6:00 P.M. ON THE OUTCOME OF THAT MEETING.

5. AT 1:00 P.M. FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES TELEPHONED ME TO ASK MY  
REACTIONS TO MY MEETING WITH MAKARIOS AND TO SAY THAT HE WAS  
SENDING OVER FOR USG EYES ONLY THE TEXT OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT  
DOCUMENT. I SAID THAT I WAS GRATIFIED THAT MAKARIOS HAD  
REITERATED HIS COMMITMENT TO UNDERSTANDINGS WITH CLIFFORD,  
BUT I CONTINUED TO BE DISTURBED BY ASPECTS OF THE "AIDE MEMOIRE".  
CHRISTOPHIDES REPLIED THAT IT HAD BEEN DECIDED TO CHANGE THE  
TITLE AND ASKED THAT WE MEET AT 4:00 P.M. TO DISCUSS MY CONCERNS.

6. AT 3:00 P.M. WE TELEPHONED GORGE TO GET A QUICK SUMMARY OF  
WHAT HAD HAPPENED AT THE MAKARIOS/DE CUELLAR NOON MEETING,  
POINTING OUT THAT MY 4:00 P.M. SESSION WITH CHRISTOPHIDES  
MIGHT OFFER A LAST CHANCE TO INFLUENCE THE WORKING OF THE GOC  
DOCUMENT. GORGE SAID DE CUELLAR WAS VERY PLEASED WITH THE  
MAKARIOS MEETING AND DID NOT THINK CHANGES IN TEXT SHOULD BE  
SOUGHT. THIS WAS THE CASE, GORGE POINTED OUT, BECAUSE MAKARIOS  
HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO AGREE THAT HIS DOCUMENT WOULD BE RETITLED  
AS AN "ORAL PRESENTATION" PURELY FOR THE PRIVATE INFORMATION OF  
WALDHEIM AND NOT TO BE PUBLICIZED.

7. AT 4:00 P.M. I SAW CHRISTOPHIDES. HE ASKED ME TO GO OVER  
WHAT BOTHERED ME ABOUT THE GOC DOCUMENT. I EXPLAINED THAT MY  
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PRIMARY CONCERN HAD BEEN MET BY THE ARCHBISHOP'S AGREEMENT  
WITH DE CUELLAR TO CHANGE THE "AIDE MEMOIRE" TO AN ORAL PRESENT-

ATION FOR THE SYG AND NOT FOR NEGOTIATION WITH DENKTASH. NEVER-  
THELESS, I WOULD BE BOTHERED IF I COULD NOT BE ABSOLUTELY  
ASSURED THAT ALL GOC REQUIREMENTS DID NOT HAVE TO BE SATISFIED  
AT VIENNA BUT WERE RATHER INTENDED TO APPLY IN A SUSTAINED,  
LONGER-TERM NEGOTIATION. IN PARA FIVE, THE PHRASE "EMPHASIS  
BEING GIVEN TO THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE" SEEMED INCONSISTENT WITH  
THE UNDERTAKING TO CLIFFORD THAT ALL ISSUES WOULD BE GIVEN EQUAL  
WEIGHT IN VIENNA. PARA SIX SEEMED TO BE WORDED IN AN UNNEC-  
ESSARILY PROVOCATIVE WAY, IF INDEED ITS SUBSTANCE WERE NECESSARY  
AT ALL. PARA SEVEN I THOUGHT WOULD BE BETTER REMOVED ENTIRELY,  
AS IT ADDED NOTHING AND WAS ALSO PROVOCATIVE.

ON MY FIRST CONCERN, CHRISTOPHIDES SAID WE COULD BE  
ASSURED THE GOC REQUIREMENTS WERE NOT INTENDED TO APPLY TO  
VIENNA BUT, "SHOULD BE CONSIDERED MORE IN THE CONTEXT OF A  
CONTINUING NEGOTIATING PROCESS." ON MY SECOND POINT, THE GOC  
DESIRE FOR EMPHASIS ON TERRITORY WOULD BE BALANCED BY THE  
KNOWN TURKISH PREFERENCE FOR EMPHASIS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL  
QUESTION, THE PRACTICAL RESULT BEING THE EQUAL EMPHASIS  
PROMISED TO CLIFFORD. REGARDING MY THIRD  
POINT, CHRISTOPHIDES SAID HE HAD NOT PARTICIPATED IN THE  
DRAFTING PROCESS BUT HAD BEEN NEGATIVELY IMPRESSED ON  
RECEIVING THE FINAL TEXT THAT MORNING. HE HAD DISCUSSED MORE  
GRACEFUL PHRASING AT A MEETING WITH MAKARIOS AND PAPADOPOULOS  
JUST BEFORE NOON, BUT PAPADOPOULOS HAD BEEN AGGRESSIVELY  
INSISTENT. CHRISTOPHIDES SAID HE AGREED, ALSO, THAT PARA SEVEN  
WAS UNNECESSARY, BUT ON THIS AS WELL PAPADOPOULOS HAD PREVAILED.  
WE COULD BE ASSURED IN ANY CASE THAT PARAGRAPHS SIX AND SEVEN  
WOULD NOT BE APPLIED TO VIENNA.

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IN CONCLUSION, AND SPEAKING PERSONALLY (SIC), CHRISTOPHIDES SAID HE HOPED WASHINGTON WOULD UNDERSTAND THAT INCLUSION IN THIS DOCUMENT OF SOME LANGUAGE WE MIGHT FIND MILDLY OBJECTIONABLE HAD BEEN THE PRICE THE ARCHBISHOP HAD TO PAY TO "APPEASE CERTAIN DISSENTING ELEMENTS." EVEN MORE PRIVATELY, HE SAID THIS REALLY MEANT PAPADOPOULOS. HE HOPED WE WOULD AGREE THAT THE DOCUMENT CONTAINED NO SIGNIFICANT DEVIATION FROM THE ARCHBISHOP'S UNDERSTANDINGS WITH MR. CLIFFORD. I SAID I WOULD CONVEY THE MESSAGE.

8. AT 6:00 P.M., DCM DILLERY MET GORGE, WHO REPORTED THAT DE CUELLAR HAS INFORMED UNSYG THAT SITUATION IS "MORE REASSURING" THAN IT WAS ON MARCH 15. DE CUELLAR'S OPTIMISM IS BASED ON TWO FACTORS: (A) DENKTASH'S FORTHCOMING STATEMENT THAT HIS NEGOTIATOR WILL BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE "SUBSTANTIVELY AND MEANINGFULLY" ON TERRITORY, AND (B) MAKARIOS'-- AND PAPADOPOULOS' -- ASSURANCE THAT PARAS 6 AND 7 OF GOC PAPER WILL NOT BE APPLIED TO VIENNA MEETING. IN MARCH 16 MEETING, MAKARIOS SAID WORD "PROLONGED" IN PARA 6 DOES NOT MEAN VIENNA; GOC REQUIREMENT TO ACT ON THIS POINT  
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WILL ARISE IF TURK CYPRIOTS HAVE NOT MADE TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL BY "APRIL OR MAY." PAPADOPOULOS ASSURED UN REPS HE WOULD NOT INVOKE DELAY CRITERIA IN PARA 7 DURING MARCH 31-APRIL 7 VIENNA SESSION. DE CUELLAR AND MAKARIOS AGREED THAT GOC DOCUMENT SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN TO TURK CYPRIOTS BECAUSE TO DO SO WOULD ONLY THREATEN SUCCESS OF VIENNA TALKS. UN REPS SUGGESTED MAKARIOS TREAT PAPER AS BACKGROUND FOR UNSYG AND USG ONLY. THIS RELIEVES UN REPS FROM ANY RESPONSIBILITY TO INFORM TURKISH SIDE.

GORGE SAID HE AND DE CUELLAR DO NOT FEEL THAT GOC DOCUMENT WILL BE A HINDERANCE IN NEGOTIATIONS. WHILE IT DOES CONTAIN AMBIGUITIES AND COULD BE INTERPRETED TO JUSTIFY POSSIBLE HARDLINE POSITIONS, ASSURANCES RECEIVED FROM MAKARIOS AND PAPADOPOULOS SEEMED TO UN REPS TO INDICATE THAT VIENNA ITSELF WILL NOT BE AFFECTED AND THAT MOST CONTROVERSIAL PARTS OF PAPER WILL BE APPLICABLE ONLY IN THE LONG TERM AND AS A RESULT OF INTRANSIGENCE BY THE OTHER SIDE.

AS A RESULT OF ACTIVITIES OF MARCH 16, DE CUELLAR BELIEVES HE CAN NOW END HIS PRE-VIENNA "SHUTTLE"

BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES; THAT FURTHER ATTEMPTS  
TO CLARIFY AGENDA AND PROCEDURE DETAILS WILL ONLY  
PUT NEGOTIATORS IN "STRAIGHTJACKET" OF NARROW INSTRUCTIONS.

9. COMMENT: WHILE TODAY'S EVENTS MARK WELCOME ELIMINA-  
TION OF SUBSTANTIVE OBSTACLES WHICH HAD BEEN THROWN UP  
TO IMPEDE DE CUELLAR'S EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE VIENNA  
ARRANGEMENTS, QUESTION OF PROCEDURE TO ENSURE SIMUL-  
TANEOUS DISCUSSION OF THE TWO PRINCIPAL ISSUES REMAINS  
UNCLEAR. WE WILL BE PURSUING THIS WITH DE CUELLAR/GORGE  
MARCH 17 TO SEE HOW FAR THEY HAVE GOTTEN.  
CRAWFORD

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## Message Attributes

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